245 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn
262 powder and fish sauce. The *kanazo*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a
824 fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhoea and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New
772 Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and
775 is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

live perhaps at the most a hundred years, but here also, and only here, do the Buddhas appear to teach the right way of living which is the only way in which the people can progress to the heavenly regions and to Nirvana. Down below the earth are situated the hells, eight great ones and forty thousand and forty smaller hells, regions of torture and punishment. 796, 772, 775

Whereas the inhabitants of the northern, eastern and western islands around Myinmo, never hearing the words of a Buddha and never knowing the way of good and evil, are always born into the same world, never going up or down, man, the inhabitant of Zampudipa, may pass into the nethermost hell or the highest heavenly seat, according to the progress in his successive lives. Ascending the ladder from deep hells, through earth to heavenly regions, the spirit meets with existences which are not only more blessed in the degree of enjoyment and material happiness, but also correspondingly more free from fleshly desires and sin. Our Buddhist hells are the most frightening places one can imagine; as a child I used to look at the vivid pictures drawn in the friezes round pagoda building walls, to show the damnation that would befall the evil-doer who was born into a hell. Boiling in oil, flesh being torn off the bones by monstrous dogs and vultures, saws and knives aflame with red heat slowly dismembering limb from limb, all these occur in life in any of the hells. The next stage upwards from hell is a life as an animal, which a man may be born to for lesser sins and an omission from doing meritorious deeds. Animals have their stages of nobility also. Lowest are those living on excrements of flesh of other animals, nobler are the herbivorous animals and noblest of all the elephant. Gautama Buddha passed one of his existences as a white elephant, which is the reason for the esteem in which a white elephant was held—so high, that Buddhist kings longed to be able to style themselves, *Hsin-byu Shin*, [643] Lord (Owner) of the white elephant. During his life as a man, a being had the opportunity to live a right life, observing the precepts, giving alms and attending the pagoda regularly. His next existence might then be as an inhabitant of one of the six seats of the Dewas. In all these six seats through which the being may progress, life is surrounded by delights of foods, clothing and dwelling, but passion is less sensual, and decreases with ascent. Successively, a touch of the hand, and then gazing at the lover, and finally the mere presence in the same existence is enough to satisfy love. From here, concentrated meditation will carry a being higher to the seats of the Byammas; here he must get rid of all remaining affection for matter, for all parts of the body, until he attains to the four seats of Arupa. The contempt for matter continues in these existences, and finally, when all false persuasions leave the spirit, he passes into Nirvana, the lifeless, timeless state of bliss, in which the

776
772 spirit knows no joy and no sorrow, but remains perpetually contemplating
775 the abstract truth, delivered finally from the cycle of recurring existences.

This arrangement of the universe and of the progress of man
772 through different levels of it, was but a reflection of the Buddhist ideas
779 of cosmography prevalent at the time when the religion was first in flower. In our imagination they belonged with the distant Himalayas, the peaks too high for human sight, the clouds and mist on which a being with the Buddha's spiritual powers could ride in majesty. But whether every Burman Buddhist associates these regions with his daily life or not, there are few who, in the midst of their busiest worldly living, will not be excited, exalted, at the Canonical descriptions of the mind of the *arahat* when he becomes, by meditation and victory over the senses, ready to attain Nirvana. The following description is part of the Sammannaphala-sutta, one of the discourses of the Buddha:

"With mind concentrated, purified, cleansed, spotless, with the defilements gone, supple, ready to act, firm, impassible, he directs his attention to knowledge and insight. He understands that this my body has a shape, consists of the four elements, was produced by a mother and father, a collection of milk and gruel, subject to rubbing, pounding, breaking, and dissolution, and on this my consciousness rests, hereto it is bound.

"He then directs his attention to creating a mind-formed body. From his body he creates a mind-formed body having shape, and with all its limbs and faculties.

"He directs his attention to various kinds of magical powers. From being one he becomes many, and from being many becomes one. He goes across walls and hills without obstruction, plunges into and out of the earth, goes over water as if on dry land, passes through the air sitting cross-legged, and even touches the mighty moon and sun with his hand, and reaches to the world of Brahma.

"With purified divine ea. he hears divine and human sounds both distant and near.

"He understands the state of the minds of other beings.

"The last three stages he attains are called the knowledges.

"First, the monk directs his attention to remembering his former existences. He remembers thousands of births and many cycles of existence, and knows that in such a place he was a being of such a name and clan, and had certain experiences and length of life in each of these births.

"Second, he directs his attention to the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings. With divine purified vision he sees evil doers being reborn in hell, and the virtuous in heaven, just as a man in a palace may see persons entering and coming out of a house.

"Third he directs his attention to the knowledge of the destruction of the asavas*. He duly understands, 'this is pain,' 'this is the cause of pain,' 'this is the cessation of pain,' 'this is the way leading to the cessation of pain.' He duly understands, 'these are the asavas,' 'this is the cause of the asavas,' 'this is the cessation of the asavas,' 'this is the way to the cessation of the asavas.' When he thus knows and thus perceives, his mind is released from the asava of lust, from the asava of (desire for) existence, from the asava of ignorance. In the released is the knowledge of his release; he understands that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further beyond this world."

At the New Year, then, the King of the tha-gyas, who are Dewas, comes to visit the earth which is suffering its hottest and driest month and looks to rain and coolness for deliverance. Before the descent each year, brahmins and astrologers get together and calculate the exact hour of his arrival, the means of his descent to the earth, whether astride a buffalo, a *naga* or a *galon* and whether he wields a spear or a water jar, for by these signs will the nature of the coming year be decided—heavy rains or drought, good crops or disturbances in the land—and the duration of his stay on the earth. All their findings are collected in leaflets which are distributed as the *tha-gyan sa*, and when I was young I used to think that they fell from heaven as prophetic messages. Actually the present day practice is to fix April 13th for the official occurrence of Thingyan each year. The celebration of the festival by pouring of water is to honour the heavenly visitor, to wash away the old year's dirtiness and to begin the new by good and auspicious deeds.

By the day before Tha-gya Min's arrival in Ye, the *a-kyo nay*, the preparing-to-greet day, bamboo palisades had been put up along the verandahs, arrangements had been made for communal celebration and large-scale washing and feeding. All the girls spent the morning grinding thanakha and other fragrant barks and the boys went out to cut the leaves of the *the-byay* tree for the sacred water pots to be poured out at the arrival of the visitor. In the evening, Grandmother and other old people walked up to the rest houses near the monastery where my father had been educated, for at their time of life, fasting, meditation and the contemplation of younger people's enjoyment is the happiest way of greeting the New Year. In the evening, too, we carried out Grandmother's good deed of inviting a number of people from the village to come and wash their hair. Hairwashing is part of the New Year's rituals because the noblest part of the body, the head, must be in a clean condition at this time. In the days of the Burmese kings, there

* Desires and impulses, expressions of the clinging to existence.

674 like ours except that patches of blood made violent interruptions on the
764 chaste red and white striped design, being slung on a pole, carrying a
775 woman who had been hacked by the dah of a hot-tempered husband. When one of the villagers had died a sudden death through poisoning, we listened wide-eyed to Ma Aye Shwe's account of his burial. All the old and broken bottles of Ye had been collected and ground up. His grave was dug, and after the coffin had been put into it, was filled up with alternating layers of earth and of powdered glass. This was because one of our persisting animist beliefs is that a spirit whose body dies a "green" death, that is, sudden, violent and unnatural, will walk about the earth in the form of an undesirable ghost, and hence the glass which will keep it under the earth and prevent its escape, much as thieves are deterred from climbing a wall which has powdered glass strewn along its top.

731 Every few years also, the water of the Ye creek rose so high that the ground and main floors of all the houses were flooded, and my grandmother and aunts had to retreat with all perishable goods and furniture to the high reaches of the platform storey and camp there till the water retreated. How we longed to visit Ye when this happened, but the nearest we came to realizing these floods was to see unexpected little patches of the sand of the creek every now and again in the houses, where the traces of the visiting waters had not been swept away. In one really bad year the waters at chaung-bya swelled into a mountainous flood which rose suddenly in a great roar and carried with it huts and rafts and stored
• [772] goods of all kinds. Grandmother and my great-aunts watched dumbly from the top of the pagoda hill, while cocks and hens and dogs and people clung to the thatched roofs of the floating houses, the cocks crowing and dogs baying and people praying, all rushing swiftly and inevitably past Ye, towards the great Thamoddhaya, the great ocean which is part of the waters which break the girdle of the Settkyawala Mountains circling the world around Myinmo Mount. Every few years, as a matter of fact, Uncle Thet Hnan, who had a garden and house at chaung-bya, lost a few tins of sesamum oil, or some part of his bamboo structures. This was because they all built and rebuilt the houses too near the water, to provide a quick escape from dacoits and enemies.

674 It was a dangerous life in these gardens even during our most recent years there, and my cousin Nyein Maung who was the stalwart to give my aunts most protection, developed into a rough and ready dispenser of justice. On one occasion he watched the hand of a thief creep up through the bamboo slathes of the flooring on which his little son played. The child wore a gold anklet which the hand coming out of the darkness tried to wrench off. Nyein Maung who anticipated that

yet with Burma itself. Brought up as a complacent child of a government officer in Burma, this was the first time that I realized how we had unconsciously thought of England, the British Empire, as a permanent world force during our lifetime—a force with which we might bargain advantageously or without success, but one that our fathers and we had taken for granted for all the time that we could remember. But now we realized it as one power—leading perhaps—amongst other powers in the West, and we realized also the existence of Japan and remembered how the Burmans who visited it always brought back stories of the beauty, progress and good manners of the country.

We left our English friends in the first half of August 1940, as they waited, braced for an invasion, to go to what they and we considered a war-free country. I was in the Ladies Room of a big restaurant in London just before I left, when the attendant who watched me wrap my longyi asked me which country I came from. "Burma," I told her. "Burma," she repeated uncertainly. "Is there a war there, Miss?" "No," I said laughing, "but there is a Road there." Yet I was only amusing myself. As we set out home, the furthest that our thoughts of war and Burma ranged, was to wonder whether the Burma Road and the recent closing of it had made people think more about Japan and China than they had done in 1937, when the outbreak of war between the two countries had caused little excitement except that some of my friends became consistent boycotters of Japanese goods. We also wondered vaguely whether trade had been affected, and whether thought and general social conditions had been stimulated with the world-shattering event of a European war, not dreaming that this was but the splash of a pebble compared to the tempest that was to follow.

Since I had left Burma, my mother and brother and sisters had settled themselves in Rangoon and I wondered how the city would seem after the big cities of the West. Rangoon is not one of the ancient cities of Burma. Its present position in the life of the country and people is a complete turnabout from its traditional place, for in days gone by it had attracted the inhabitants through spiritual rather than material renown. While Pagan, Ava, Toungoo and Mandalay rose and fell in political and commercial importance, Rangoon—Dagon as it was called—continued unchangingly a seat of pilgrimage, connected with fable and divinity, forming an actual link with another world cycle that existed in the universe before this present arrangement of Mount Myinmo, with its surrounding heavenly, earthly and hellish regions, was formed.

For it was on the hill called Theinguttara, which now casts its shadow on the city of Rangoon with its crown of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, that he omens for the spiritual life of this world cycle were manifested, before

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and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabaik with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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CHAPTER X

THE EARTH AND ITS BEGINNING

772 779 171 THE Lord Buddha cared very little for speculations, or theories as to the construction and extent of the terrestrial globe, or as to the size and motions of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Shin Gautama was entirely a moral philosopher, concerned with the workings of the mind, whose highest aim was to despise matter and free itself from such trammels in the progress towards Ne'ban. The consideration of natural phenomena was therefore entirely outside the province of the true sage. It is probable, therefore, that the transmogrified Hindu system which does duty for Burmese cosmography was elaborated rather by the Buddha's disciples than by himself. It has been altered only to suit Buddhistic religious views, with here and there the fancies of a lively imagination thrown in, but the outline of it existed before Prince Theidat came.

The Burmese are therefore certainly not responsible for it, but as some knowledge of the system is necessary for the comprehension of various superstitions, phrases, and forms of speech, it may be desirable to give a slight sketch of these astronomical and cosmical theories.

772 779 The word lawka means a whole revolution of nature. The world is being constantly destroyed and reproduced, but each lawka lasts an incalculable length of years. It is divided into four periods, and it is not till the arrival of the fourth period that man appears upon earth. During that last period, divided into sixty-four Andrakaps, the life of man must, in each Andrakap, wax from ten years to an Athinkaya (a time represented by a unit and a hundred and

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sixty-four ciphers, one and a half quintillion years), and then gradually wane to ten years again, on account respectively of the merit and demerit in the world. We are now in the waning term of the eleventh Andrakap. The Buddhas only appear upon earth during the waning season of man's life, chiefly, of course, to stay the increasing influence of evil by preaching the law, and also because when man's life is slowly lengthening to an Athinkaya he is not so disposed to listen to their teaching. 100,000 years before the destruction of the world the Dêwas come down from their six blissful seats and wander about the earth with dishevelled hair and mournful garb, proclaiming the sad tidings of the impending destruction of the world. Once again a hundred years before the cataclysm they come, and all mankind strives to raise itself beyond the influence of the destroying element. The world must be destroyed in any case, but there are three great principles of demerit which determine by what means the catastrophe will be effected. Concupiscence is the most common and the least heinous of these principles, and the world of the lustful will be destroyed by fire. Next comes anger, a more grievous sin than concupiscence, and the world ruined by the principle of anger will be destroyed by water. Worst of all is the sin of ignorance. The world of the ignorant will be scattered about the bounds of space by a mighty rushing wind, which beginning so gently as barely to sway the leaves and flowers, ends by breaking up with its irresistible force the vast bulk of Mount Myinmo and the Sekyawala circle of hills. Of sixty-four worlds, fifty-six are destroyed by fire, seven by water, and one by wind. Fire reaches to the fifth seat of the Rupa, the beings called Perfect. Water mounts higher by three seats to the eighth of the Byammās, and wind one seat beyond this. Out of the thirty-one seats of the world there remain therefore only eleven undestroyed. The Four States of Punishment, the abode of man, the six blissful seats of Nats; and five, eight or nine of the lofty dwellings of the Rupa, according to the destroying agent, are altogether overwhelmed and dispersed throughout space. The seven highest seats of the Byammās and the four of Arupa, where dwell the Immaterials, who having broken all ties with the material world, are ripe

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772 779 for Ne'ban, these eleven seats only remain constantly undisturbed.

Then there is chaos for an athinkaya. When that mighty season has passed, rain begins to fall again throughout infinity. Fire, water, or wind may destroy the world, but water alone can reproduce it, though both the sun and the wind have minor parts to play. The drops gradually increase in size till they reach the volume of five, ten, a [804] hundred, even a thousand yuzanas (a yuzana being about twelve miles English). The wind blows the water together in the spot occupied by the last world. A greasy scum gathers on the surface. The action of the sun gradually hardens this into a crust, which eventually assumes the exact appearance and shape of the last world. The Lord Buddha himself, it is written, did not know which was the first world and which would be the last. Many learned writers say that there is neither a beginning nor an end to the production and destruction of worlds. It will go on for ever like a great wheel, even as the great wheel of the Law itself. Since sorrow then is shadow to life, how should all beings strive to escape from the vortex of existences? In the *Abhidhamma* we read that there are two descriptions of worlds, called Thôn-nya Kabā and A-thôn-nya Kabā, that is to say, worlds to which the Buddhas came, and those to which they did not come. Some think that the latter kind of worlds must have been uninhabited. However that may be, it is certain that the law has always existed. It existed Kalpas and Mahakalpas before the first Budh came to this earth. The Buddhas only revive the knowledge of it among creatures upon the painful ladder of existence. Our present world, called Badda, has been particularly favoured. Already four Buddhas have appeared, and when the dispensation of Shin Gautama shall have passed away, two thousand five hundred years hence, there will come another, Arimadéya, whose stature will exceed the highest mountains in all the Southern Island.

823 779 772 The system of the world as explained by the Buddhist Yahandas is somewhat different from that adopted by western men of science. In the centre is the Myinmo Taung, Mount Meru, the highest peak of all the world. Its

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shape is somewhat peculiar, like a cask floating end upwards in water. A height of 84,000 yuzanas above the sea is counterbalanced by as many of depth below the surface. It is supported on three feet, each a huge ruby or carbuncle. In the space between these feet dwell the Athura, the Nats who were tempted to drink by new arrivals in the seat of Toktheeta, and when overcome by the liquor were hurled into the sea by their crafty rivals. At various heights on the central mountain are ranged the six blissful seats of the Déwas, but many of them dwell elsewhere. Thus, for example, the sun, the moon, and most of the stars and planets are simply gorgeous dwellings of Nats. Away in the empyrean, rising perpendicularly one above the other, are the sixteen seats of Rupa, where the Byammās, the Perfect, dwell. These have got rid of almost all the passions, but especially of concupiscence. It is not till they have freed themselves from all affection for matter and material things that they can pass beyond to the incalculable heights of the four seats of Arupa, where the Immaterials dwell in a state of sublimest contemplation waiting only for the moment when they shall pass beyond into Ne'ban. Down below the earth, in a mass of hard rock, are the eight great Hells and the numberless smaller ones. Surrounding the Myinmo Taung and girdling round the earth are the seven ranges of the Sekyawala mountains, with seven seas interposed. In the sea round about Mount Myinmo, the great Thamôddaya Ocean, are the four great islands—Ottayakuru to the north, Pyôppawideha to the east, Aparagawyan to the west, and Zampudipa to the south. In the Southern Island dwells the race of man. Each of the great islands has five hundred smaller ones round about it, and in these islands dwell the English and other nations other than the Buddhists and the Indian heretics.

The Thamôddaya sea is too stormy to allow of any one passing from one of the great islands to any other. The Southern Island is the largest, and is shaped like a trapezium. The Western Island is like the full moon, the Northern is square, and Pyôppawideha is shaped like the moon in her quarters. The shape of the head of the different inhabitants follows the shape of the island, and the different sides

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of Mount Meru give their different colours to each island. Thus the Eastern Island is all white from being opposite to the silver face of the mountain; the Western is green, because on that side Myinmo is of glass; the Northern Island glitters like gold, and the Southern is a pale-coloured brown-like carbuncle. Each island is named from the great tree which grows upon it and forms the sacred insignia of the island. Thus the Southern Island is named from the Zampu tree, the great Eugenia.

The Eastern, Western, and Northern Islands are very pleasant to dwell in, but especially the Northern. There the people live to the age of a thousand years, and always appear to be no more than eighteen. In the other islands they only live to be five hundred. In other respects the Northern Island is a regular land of Cockayne. The fabled Padetha Bin, elsewhere only found in the happy countries of the Nats, grows there. From its bounteous branches hang the most gorgeous dresses of every variety of colour, and the happy islanders have only to take them off. Nor are they at any necessity to till the ground to procure themselves food. From this tree they obtain also an abundant supply of a most excellent kind of rice, already husked to their hands. All that they have to do is to place it on a certain large stone, and it is forthwith cooked, and upon the branches of the trees round about appear the most dainty meats. Truly the Northern islanders have a most enviable existence. But in one respect, like the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western isles, they are unhappy. They are always born back to the same island. They cannot raise themselves in the scale of being, like the otherwise sorrowful Southern islanders. Only in Zampudipa do the Buddhas appear to teach the law and free the people from constant deaths and reappearances. From Tahingaya, the first Buddha, to Shin Gautama, under whose dispensation we now live, there have been twenty-eight Buddhas, and all of them have come to the great Southern Island. To Byammās, to Nats, even to animals and the agonised dwellers in the lowest hells, the blessed words have come, but never to those other dwellers in the islands of the great sea Thamôddaya. Thus are men enabled to attain to the state of Nats, to pass

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through the seats of Rupa and Arupa, until finally, freed from passion and sorrow and the trammels of matter, they sink into the bliss of Ne'ban. Therefore have pious writers of old called the Southern Island Ne'ban's ferry.

Down below the earth, in the deepest recesses of the Southern Island, are the eight great Hells, surrounded by 40,040 smaller ones. Four of the great Hells are called Awidzi, and in addition to other tortures, terrible flames leap from wall to wall across the monstrous space, and extend on all sides beyond for a thousand yuzanas. The other four are called Lawkantyè, and there, instead of flames, we find hideous cold. A day in any of these places of torment is as long as thousands of mundane years.

The world having been created is as yet uninhabited. Our present earth, Badda, was peopled in the following way, From the seats of Zān, to which the destructive element had not reached, came down certain Byammās, some say three, some as many as nine. Holy people as they were and freed from all passions, they existed at first, like Adam and Eve, in a state of perfect bliss and innocence. They were not as the Kāma, the generating beings of the Four States of Punishment and the Seven States of Happiness—that of man and the six seats of Nats. But, like Adam and Eve, they fell into sin and thence into misery. First we read that they prayed for light. We may imagine that already the spiritual light had forsaken them, for in answer to their prayers appeared the sun, the moon, and the stars. The holy people had hitherto lived on a flavoured earth, which, however, driven away by their growing desire for matter, vanished and gave place to another species of food, a sweet creeping plant called Padalata. This was perfect in odour and flavour, but still the appetites of the people grew, and the Padalata was taken away and in its place appeared the Thalé san, a peculiarly fine kind of rice, which grew ready husked, and had only to be put in a pot, when it would cook itself. But by eating the Thalé rice, the Byammās became more and more gross, until, like Adam and Eve after eating the apple, they attained a knowledge of good and evil, and marriage was instituted. After this the

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Thalé san became more and more scarce. At first, no matter how much was eaten, at night the portion which had been cut during the day reappeared; but when the first people fell into the sin of lust the rice gradually vanished. Where the rice was cut in the morning, there remained a bare patch at night. Since then man has had to labour, and earn his bread with the sweat of his brow.

Owing to the scarcity, crime first appeared in the world. One man, fearing that his stock would not last him, went and stole from his neighbours' barns. Thus theft was the first crime committed in the world. The man whose rice was stolen at first only scolded the thief, and let him go. The robber, however, did not care for this, and came back a second and a third time. The third time he was seized and beaten. Thus out of the original crime of thievery arose abuse, reviling, assault, falsehood, and then punishments. In this way did crime and consequently law and justice take their origin, and have lasted since the very beginning of the world. Hitherto on account of the happy state in which the people had lived, without crime and without punishments, every one had been equal, and there had been no necessity for marking different grades. As, however, crime increased, and with it revenge, more or less sweeping according to temperament, the people took counsel together and resolved to appoint a man to be ruler over them, who should regulate their affairs and punish wrongdoers. Thus a king was first appointed, and his revenue was derived from tithes given by the people. Each man set apart a tenth of his Thalé san for the support of the king. The tithe system was kept up among the Burmese, the most direct in descent from the original people, until a few years ago. The kings extended the system. The rulers and governors of provinces received in place of salary the tithes of the districts which were under their charge. But King Mindôn Min, finding that with unscrupulous men the method was liable to abuse, abolished the system of tithes, and introduced the English method of paying a regular salary. It did not, however, work well. Many of the myo-sas, finding that they did not receive their money regularly from the State, continued to exact tithes as before, only secretly and with many cunning devices to hide

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XI

THE LADDER OF EXISTENCE

NOTWITHSTANDING the change, the pain, and the vanity of everything upon earth, yet the Lu-pyi, the Manôt-tha-bông, the state of man, is desirable beyond all others. Transience, misery, unreality prevail in all the thirty-one seats of the world, even in the twenty superior heavens, where those acted on by Kāma, generating beings, find no entrance. The Déwas come down to our earth from their six seats of bliss; the Byammās, even to the fourth state of Zān, are occasionally found in earthly guise in the precincts of holy monasteries; even Yahandas, who have entered into Thodda, the current of perfection, and after death attain the dreamful joy of Ne'ban, the cessation from existence, even these immaterial beings diffuse a saintly presence over the Southern Island. The great Lord Gautama appeared in the seat of man and preached the sacred law, and he preached it there because all the twenty-seven Buddhas before him had done the same, and when he preached it on that soft Indian eve,

I know it writ that they who heard
Were more—lakhs more—crores more—than could be seen,
For all the Devas and the Dead thronged there,
Till Heaven was emptied to the seventh zone,
And uttermost dark Hells opened their bars;
Also the daylight lingered past its time
In rose-leaf radiance on the watching peaks,
So that it seemed Night listened in the glens
And Noon upon the mountains; yea! they write,
The Evening stood between them like some maid,
Celestial, love-struck, rapt; the smooth-rolled clouds
Her braided hair; the studded stars the pearls

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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body-servants, carrying a gold-sheathed sword, a velvet pillow, spittoons, betel-nut boxes, and a variety of other things of uses more or less obvious. Last of all, surrounded by his page body-guard, comes the mintha himself, reclining in a wan, a finely-carved litter, borne by many shoulders. Many of the officials are, of course, unable to make such a grand display as this, but every one does his utmost to surpass his fellows in some point or other, and the result is a spectacle which would furnish abundance of valuable notions to a pantomime scenic artist racking his brains for novelties.

All the retinue is left outside when they come to the palace and ascend the broad flight of steps flanked by the two great gilded cannon, and approach the nandaw, the magnificent Hall of Audience. At stated points they pay lowly reverence to the graceful spire which rises over the throne and marks the centre of the palace, of the town, of Burma, and therefore of the universe. Inside the nandaw each man has his special place, according to his rank, Englishmen being ordinarily told off with ministers of the third grade. They sit there and smoke, placidly awaiting events.

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The Hall of Audience is a fine building of its kind; a long columned chamber, open on three sides, with gilt and red pillars, and a profusion of ornaments. The walls are made gorgeous with bits of looking-glass, porcelain, fragments of coloured glass, a mosaic of queer odds and ends fastened on with a resinous gum. This style of ornamentation is peculiarly Burmese, and is really very striking, though the materials may not seem promising. The effect of the whole is unique, if a little bewildering. It is like a compound chromotrope out of order. But close inspection gives an impression of tawdriness, and the national Burmese carelessness appears through all. Round the tops of the wooden walls runs beautifully carved lattice-work, but some of it has got broken in one place, and at another all the gilding has come off. There are some richly ornamented doors, but hinges have not been available when they were put up, and they swing on a sort of ball and socket contrivance which serves the purpose, but makes close-fitting and easy movement impossible.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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carved with flowers and figures, and adorned with the usual flamboyant pinnacles, supported on massive teak pillars, painted vermilion colour at the base, and gilt higher up. Straight ahead is the great Hall of Audience, a colonnade, or columned arcade, extending along the entire eastern front, and opening directly upon it. At the end of a pillared vista stands the throne, on a dais, reached by five steps from the level of the hall. The top is a cushioned ledge, like the box in a theatre. Just over the throne, and in the centre of the palace, which is the centre of the city, which is the centre of Burma, which is the Turanian "hub" of the world, rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion. The princes of the highest rank sit in front to the right of the throne; those of the blood-royal, but not so closely connected, to the left. Then in regular gradation, opposite one another, the wungyi, atwinwuns, wundauks, and the minor officials. On either side of the hall of audience and behind are a number of minor throne-rooms, not rooms in the English sense of the word, but simply open roofed spaces, separated from each other by skirtings of planking, covered with gold-leaf, and supported by a multitude of teak pillars, dyed for the greater part of their height a deep red. Some rooms are almost entirely gilt, others are adorned with wall-paintings, others, again, with the favourite mosaic of bits of mirror and coloured glass, framed in a gilt network. Every room is furnished with one or more stands of arms; there is a rack of sadly ill-cared-for muskets round the throne itself. The palace is, in fact, a gigantic armoury. All the cannon and guns in the country are kept there. Hence it is that when the palace is taken by a usurper, the country is conquered. The abundance of gold-leaf ought to make the effect splendid, but the quantity of alloy there is in the gilding makes it speedily lose its glitter, and the general impression is that of dinginess, if not indeed of actual slip-shod tawdriness. But to be seen at its best the palace should be visited on a great beg-pardon day, when the rough plank floors are covered with gorgeous rugs and carpets, and the halls are filled with officials dressed in all the hues of the rainbow.

There are a variety of matters to be carefully observed by all who enter, or have anything to do with the palace.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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782 prayer is to Him to preserve us in future, to assist us in our troubles, to give us our daily food, not to be too severe upon us, not to punish us as we deserve, but to be merciful and kind. We ask Him to protect us from our enemies, not to allow them to triumph over us, but to give us triumph over them.

782 But the Buddhist has far other thoughts than these. He believes that the world is ruled by everlasting, unchangeable laws of righteousness. The great God lives far behind His laws, and they are for ever and ever. You cannot change the laws of righteousness by praising them, or by crying against them, any more than you can change the revolution of the earth. Sin begets sorrow, sorrow is the only purifier from sin; these are eternal sequences; they cannot be altered; it would not be good that they should be altered. The Buddhist believes that the sequences are founded on righteousness, are the path to righteousness, and he does not believe he could alter them for the better, even if he had the power by prayer to do so. He believes in the everlasting *righteousness*, that all things work for *good* in the end; he has no need for prayer or praise; he thinks that the world is governed with far greater wisdom than any of his—perfect wisdom, that is too great, too wonderful, for his petty praise.

God lives far behind His laws; think not He has made them so badly as to require continual rectification at the prayer of man. Think not that God is not bound by His own laws. The Buddhist will never believe that God can break His own laws; that He is like an earthly king who imagines one

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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code of morality for his subjects and another for himself. Not so; the great laws are founded in righteousness, so the Buddhist believes, in everlasting righteousness; they are perfect, far beyond our comprehension; they are the eternal, unchangeable, marvellous will of God, and it is our duty not to be for ever fretfully trying to change them, but to be trying to understand them. That is the Buddhist belief in the meaning of religion, and in the laws of righteousness; that is, he believes the duty of him who would follow religion to be to try to understand these laws, to bring them home to the heart, so to order life as to bring it into harmony with righteousness.

Now see the difference. We believe that the world is governed not by eternal laws, but by a changeable and continually changing God, and that it is our duty to try and persuade Him to make it better.

We believe, really, that we know a great deal better than God what is good, not only for us, but for others; we do not believe His will is always righteous—not at all: God has wrath to be deprecated; He has mercy to be aroused; He has partiality to be turned towards us, and hence our prayers.

But to the Buddhist the whole world is ruled by righteousness, the same for all, the same for ever, and the only sin is ignorance of these laws.

The Buddha is he who has found for us the light to see these laws, and to order our life in accordance with them.

So it will be understood, I think, why there is no

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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prayer, no gathering together for any ceremonial, in Buddhism; why there is no praise, no thanksgiving of any kind; why it is so very different in this way from our faith. Buddhism is a wisdom, a seeking of the light, a following of the light, each man as best he can, and it has very little to correspond with our prayer, our services of praise, our meetings together in the name of Christ.

Therefore, when you see a man kneeling before a pagoda, moving silent lips of prayer, when you see the people sitting quietly in the rest-houses on a Sunday, when you see the old men telling their beads to themselves slowly and sadly, when you hear the resonant chant of monks and children, lending a soul to the silence of the gloaming, you will know what they are doing. They are trying to understand and bring home to themselves the eternal laws of righteousness; they are honouring their great teacher.

This is all that there is; this is the meaning of all that you see and hear. The Buddhist praises and honours the Buddha, the Indian prince who so long ago went out into the wilderness to search for truth, and after many years found it in his own heart; he reverences the Buddha for seeing the light; he thanks the Buddha for his toil and exertion in making this light known to all men. It can do the Buddha no good, all this praise, for he has come to his eternal peace; but it can arouse the enthusiasm of the follower, can bring into his heart love for the memory of the great teacher, and a firm resolve to follow his teaching.

The service of his religion is to try and follow

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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782 these laws, to take them home into the heart, that
772 the follower, too, may come soon into the Great Peace.

This has been called a pessimism. Surely it is the greatest optimism the world has known—this certainty that the world is ruled by righteousness, that the world has been, that the world will always be, ruled by perfect righteousness.

To the Buddhist this is a certainty. The laws are laws of righteousness, if man would but see, would but understand. Do not complain and cry and pray, but open your eyes and see. The light is all about you, if you would only cast the bandage from your eyes and look. It is so wonderful, so beautiful, far beyond what any man has dreamt of, has prayed for, and it is for ever and for ever.

This is the attitude of Buddhism towards prayer, towards thanksgiving. It considers them an impertinence and a foolishness, born of ignorance, akin to the action of him who would daily desire Atlas not to allow the heavens to drop upon the earth.

The world is ruled by laws, and these laws are laws of righteousness.

And yet, and yet.

782 I remember standing once on the platform of a famous pagoda, the golden spire rising before us, and carved shrines around us, and seeing a woman lying there, her face to the pagoda. She was praying fervently, so fervently that her words could be heard, for she had no care for anyone about, in such trouble was she; and what she was asking was this, that her child, her baby, might not die. She held

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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the world is one vast burial-ground; there are dead men everywhere.' 779 761

'One of our great men has said the same,' I answered.

He was not surprised.

'As it is true,' he said, 'I suppose all great men would see it.'

Thus there is no escape, no loophole for a delusive hope, only the cultivation of the courage of sorrow.

There are never any exceptions to the laws of the Buddha. If a law is a law, that is the end of it. Just as we know of no exceptions to the law of gravitation, so there are no exceptions to the law of death. 779 761 772

But although this may seem to be a religion of despair, it is not really so. This sorrow to which there is no relief is the selfishness of sorrow, the grief for our own loneliness; for of sorrow, of fear, of pity for the dead, there is no need. We know that in time all will be well with them. We know that, though there may be before them vast periods of suffering, yet that they will all at last be in Nebhan with us. And if we shall not know them there, still we shall know that they are there, all of them—not one will be wanting. Purified from the lust of life, white souls steeped in the Great Peace, all living things will attain rest at last. 779 761

There is this remarkable fact in Buddhism, that nowhere is any fear expressed of death itself, nowhere any apprehension of what may happen to the dead. It is the sorrow of separation, the terror of

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91. SYMBOL OF MYIMMO-DAUNG.

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of the Burman type is the one cast for the Shwe-Dagôn Payâ by the Emperor Sinbyu Shin in 1775, which weighs forty-one tons.

According to the Burman cosmogony the world consists of four great islands, North, South, East and West, surrounded by the ocean. Burma and the known countries are situated in the south island. In the centre of all rises Mount Meru (*Myimmo-daung*). This centre of the universe is symbolized by a conventional tower provided with niches or caverns for mythical inhabitants of every sort, *Nat*, *Zawdyi* (sorcerers), *Bilu* (ogres), monsters half human and half brute, and dragons (No. 392). The symbol of *Myimmo-daung*, made of bamboo, with paper and tinsel, is a feature of various festivals. In substantial masonry it is a frequent adjunct of the temples.

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The *Bo* tree (*Bawdi-bin*), together with the rest of the *ficus* family, is sacred to the Hindu. The *Bo* is a variety of the *pipal* (*ficus religiosa*), a deciduous *ficus* with long copper-coloured acumina to the leaves. It is sacred to the Buddhists because it was while resting under the shade of a *Bo* tree at Gáya in Bahár, 600 years before Christ, that Gawdama realised the vanity of the ceremonial and ascetic systems, resisted temptation, and attained to supreme enlightenment, which, as Buddha, it became his mission to impart to mankind. "The *Bo* tree is to Buddhists what the Cross is to Christians" (Bigandet). The original *Mahâ-bodi* was piously tended while Buddhism flourished in India, and trees propagated from it were planted by Buddhist pilgrims. Such a tree is the historical *Bo* tree at Anurádhapúra in Ceylon, planted in 245 B.C. and still flourishing. Young plants cultivated from this tree are brought home to

92. BAWDI TREE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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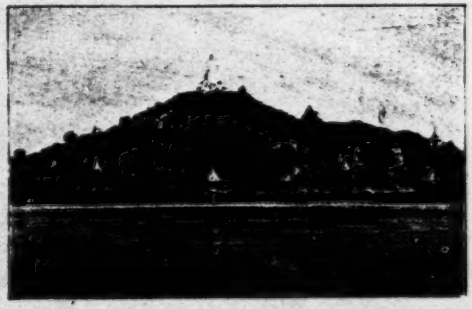
382. ROYAL INSIGNIA.

supervision, are combined into a district under a European magistrate, the Deputy Commissioner, who has a European officer for district superintendent of police, commanding an average force of four hundred native constables. At the district headquarters are a police-depôt, treasury, jail and hospital, besides courthouses and offices. The district officer hears appeals from the *myoôks*, and tries all offences except the gravest and heavy civil suits. This organisation is the backbone of the civil government, the 'Commission.' There are thirty-six such districts, and four hundred native magistrates, on salaries of one hundred to eight hundred rupees a month, besides one hundred and twenty-five native honorary magistrates. The success of this economical administration, organised by Sir Arthur Phayre, in ensuring the safety of life and property and the fulfilment of contracts has given a new value to enterprise and thrift. The British garrison of Burma in 1900 consisted of three thousand European and seven thousand five hundred Indian regular troops.

To return to native Burma—In the centre of the capital, and by euphemism of creation, rises the *pyatthat* which canopies the principal throne in the great hall of audience, where envoys and tributary princes used to be received. Here also the princes of his own blood and the high officers of state paid court to the king on *gaddw-ne*, days when they craved pardon of the king for their shortcomings. The throne (No. 1) is ascended by a stair at the back, leading from the council-room of the king's cabinet of palace ministers, who were the medium of communication with the *Hluttaw*. On such occa-



383. ANCIENT CAPITAL. SAGAING.

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418. SUHLAUNG AT THADINDYUT FESTIVAL.

and, in order to possess its proper value, should be completed in a day and a night. This is the only approach to a vigil. The texture is loose, and broad bands of tinsel are shot through to make up the woof faster.

Tawthalin is a minor festival, falling in Lent, and observed only in Pegu. The *Tawthalin* offerings are distinguished by being in thousands, one thousand little cakes, one thousand plantains, and so on (No. 282). The number one thousand is said to be symbolical of the thousand *gâta* or stanzas of the *Wéthandayâ zat*, the legend of Gawdama Buddha's last incarnation but one, closely prefiguring the final incarnation.

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782 The above are the Buddhist festivals, which are celebrated by the whole population together, with all the *éclat* they can give them. The only other recurring observances of a religious character have nothing to do with Buddhism, and are rejected by all earnest and enlightened Buddhists. These observances, if not furtively conducted, as is often the case, are kept by individuals only, or by households at a time; they have sufficient in common with the *nat* worship of the hill tribes, to show what the original Burman and Taláing worship may have been. Unlike the Karén, who knows only of evil *nats*, the Burman has both good and evil spirits. The former belong to the land of the *zat* romance, the latter are chiefly the survival of the primitive paganism. In the Burman cosmogony, *nat-yua* is the delectable land to which, by a courtesy analogous to the German "*hoch-*" and "*höchst-selig*," the kings are said to migrate at their demise. A higher order than *nat* is *thadyâ* and *thadyâ-min*, and above these the highest order of being, *byammâ*, the cloud-

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419. FIRE-BALLOONS AT THADINDYUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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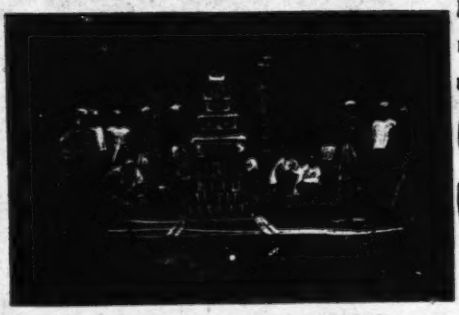
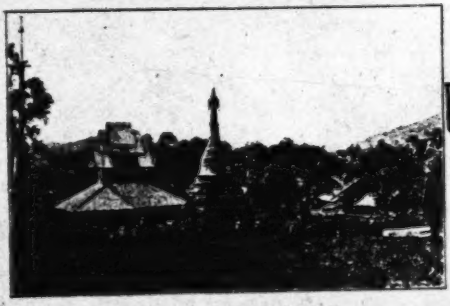
dwellers to whom the Burmans pretend to owe their origin. These ethereal beings are subject to the law of *karma*, and re-birth. They have to attain *nirvâna* like men, through virtue. Under "gods" in the Pali scriptures are to be understood such beings as these. Together with men they form the group *thaddawâ* — rational beings—to whom the message of the Buddha is delivered. (See Stevenson, *Lexicon*, pp. 603, 788.) The higher orders of existence are not to be confounded with the higher religious states, *ayahât, ayâttapô*, which are attained by the "noble path" alone (p. 46). In this fairyland, situated in the *Himawinta taw* (Himalayas) and its clouds, the poetry of the people centres. (See *The Soul of a People*, Chapter XXI.) As the heavens are indwelt by ethereal beings, so also everything on earth has its presiding genius. The heavenly *genii* are beneficent, the terrestrial ones friendly or malign. The *nats* of the mountains inspire awe, and their protection is invoked against wild beasts and dangers to wayfarers. A *nat* is pro-



420. RIVER ILLUMINATIONS AT THADINDYUT.



421. MAZES AT THADINDYUT.

422. TAZAUNGMON FESTIVAL.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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779* 775* Nibbāna be reconciled with the Buddhist denial of the soul? If there is no subject, if the apparent subject is analysed away, as seems to be the case in Buddhist psychology, what is there left to realise or attain Nibbāna? Thus Rhys Davids and others have held that the *An-attā* doctrine leaves no logical loophole for any conception of immortality.[61] In this Dialogue, however, U Agga's interpretation of Nibbāna certainly implies a conception of immortality. It is the more interesting because it is based on the definitely Buddhist theory that the individual is, in reality, an aggregate of the *khandhas*.[62] Nor is it suggested by his interrogators in the Dialogue that his view implies any soul-theory — that *bête noir* of Buddhism.[63]

The essential feature of U Agga's interpretation is a distinction between bad, unhealthy *khandhas* and good, healthy *khandhas*.[64] Condemnation of all *khandhas*, good or bad, he remarks to Sumana, recalls "those erring *rishis* of old who detested body and mortified it or who detested mind and stifled it." To deny the persistence of good *khandhas* in Nibbāna implies annihilation.

He leads up to this theory by discussing Sāriputta's statement that Nibbāna is the extinction of lust, ill-will and ignorance. Mere extinction is not Nibbāna, he argues, quoting Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. Extinction of corruptions implies ensuing health, and health, to be real, must be "bound up with sound body." Otherwise, health is merely an idea, a notion, a concept. "When a sick child who dreads medicine tells his mother that he is well, his health is (just) lip-health.... So any Nibbānic quality, ... to be real, must be bound up with sound *khandhas*." For confirmation, he quotes a Buddhist writer: "Indeed, because Nibbāna is conceived in dependence upon *khandhas*, it is made known even through our body." After all corruptions are purged, the Nibbāna life is expressed through sound *khandhas*.

This conclusion leads the disputants back to their rival conceptions of the nature of reality. Sumana objects that even sound *khandhas*, 'your

[61] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, pp. 187ff.

[62] Sentient being is said to be constituted of five *khandhas*, each khandha an aggregate of ultimate elements of bodily form, feeling, perception, mental formations and consciousness Thus 'Form' (Rūpa) is analysed into 28 attributes. "The 'I' is nothing but a changing combination of physical and psychical phenomena;" cf. Nyanatiloka, *The Word of the Buddha*, p. 4; Tilbe, *Pali Buddhism*, pp. 24, 25.

[63] As the author of this Dialogue describes it elsewhere, "A Reply to Dr. Ross" *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 168.

[64] Essentially this was the theory I attempted to elaborate to the Sayādaw in my interview.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 APl Burma
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no one point in this line of development is it possible to find one stable expression of the personality. The totality of expressions is bound up in activity itself, but this totality, under *Saṃsāra* conditions, never comes to a point: after each life another commences. Personality is only acquired when the germinal flowers in the Unchangeable.

Nibbāna is the flowering of personality.[80] In self-supporting activity, pure activity, detached from any temporal determination, the Nibbāna personality results from the Buddhist discipline which may be said to have as its object this very achievement of personality. Primitive Buddhism was not so far removed from the conception of a soul as is sometimes supposed — a conception which Father d'Eypernon compares with the definition of personality given in Scholastic Philosophy. He suggests that it is partly the failure to note the scholastic definition of the soul which has prevented full recognition of the implications of the Buddhist approach. Buddhism, he concludes, is not inconsistent; it is incomplete — incomplete because it provides no principle of unity.

In favour of Father d'Eypernon's exposition is the fact that he links his solution not only to Buddhist theory, but to Buddhist life, especially to the cultivation of the interior life as pursued in the monastery. There is, however, in such an emphasis some danger of reviving the caricature of the Hīnayāna monk which represents him as entirely and selfishly concerned with his own salvation. Against such an exaggeration, we have to set all that has been previously said about the relation of the monastery to the life of the community. We have also to set the kind of ethical teaching contained in the Parable of the Saw where the monks are bidden 'to enfold the whole world in their radiant thoughts of love.'[80]

Incidentally, it is only part of the truth that the Buddhist objection to 'soul theory' was primarily a reaction against 'the fixation of the Hindu theory of the Ātman.'[81] There is ground for the view that the Buddhist objection is partly ethical. The Buddhist denies the soul, not only as a false core of permanence but as a false core of separation, detaching man from the rest of Nature. As against Monism, Hīnayāna Buddhism may be described as a pluralism, but it is a pluralism in which the whole of Nature seeps into every part of it.[82]

The basic Buddhist objection to soul theories, however, is just the fact that they *are* theories. It is remembered that two questions of the kind are listed among the unprofitable questions to which the Buddha gave

[80] "Le Nirvāna est l'épanouissement de la personne," d'Eypernon, *ibid.*, S. 212.

[81] *M.* I. 127 (trans. Chalmers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 83).

[82] d' Eypernon, *ibid.*, Part. II, Section 2, chap. 2, p. 201.

[83] Cf. A. N. Whitehead, *Nature and Life*, p. 31.

6 Slater